

## Message Text

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TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, H. A.)

SUBJ: MEDIA REPORT, TUESDAY MORNING, MARCH 18

NO. 31

FOR AMBASSADOR ANDERSON FROM S/PRS

SUMMARY: HAK AT CRITICAL STAGE IN NEGOTIATIONS, AS SUCCESS OR FAILURE OF HIS MISSION HANGS IN BALANCE. BOTH ISRAELI AND EGYPTIAN LEADERS ACKNOWLEDGE THAT NEGOTIATIONS ARE DIFFICULT AND HAK WILL MAKE DAILY SHUTTLE FLIGHTS BETWEEN ASWAN AND JERUSALEM TO TRY TO SPEED UP NEGOTIATIONS.

RADIO/TV

1. KALB, CBS RADIO FIRST LINE REPORT, ASWAN: HAK IS COMPLETING SECOND WEEK OF HIS SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY IN ME. TOMORROW BEGINS THIRD WEEK AND IT IS CRITICAL ONE. HAK HAS MOVED STEADILY FROM ONE PHASE OF NEGOTIATION TO NEXT. HE CAME TO EGYPT AND THEN ISRAEL WITH WHAT HE LIKES TO CALL "A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR ANOTHER SINAI AGREEMENT."  
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AFTER A TALK WITH SADAT IN ASWAN AND PM RABIN IN JERUSALEM. HE MOVED TO SECOND STAGE, FROM FRAMEWORK TO EXCHANGE OF GENERAL IDEAS. THEN LATE LAST WEEK GENERAL IDEAS BECAME CONCRETE IDEAS, SADAT TRANSMITTING A SET TO HAK TO GIVE TO

RABIN, YESTERDAY RABIN GAVE HIS SET TO HAK TO GIVE TO SADAT. SOMETIME IN NEXT FEW DAYS IF NEGOTIATING PATTERN REMAINS THOROUGHLY CONSISTENT THESE CONCRETE IDEAS WILL BECOME PROPOSALS. EVEN THEN PROPOSALS WILL PROBABLY NOT BE ACCEPTED IN THEIR ENTIRETY BY ONE SIDE OR OTHER AND THAT WILL PROMPT HAK TO COME UP WITH AN AMERICAN PROPOSAL TO BRIDGE GAP BETWEEN PROPOSALS OF TWO BELLIGERENTS. ADVANTAGE OF AN AMERICAN PROPOSAL IS THAT IT SPARES EGYPT FROM LOOKING AS THOUGH SHE IS ACCEPTING AN ISRAELI PROPOSAL AND ISRAEL FROM ACCEPTING AN EGYPTIAN PROPOSAL. IN THIS WAY AMERICANS BECOME NOT ONLY MIDDLE MEN BUT GUARANTORS OF AGREEMENT IF IT IS ACHIEVED. SO MUCH FOR STAGE OF AN AGREEMENT; NOW FOR SUBSTANCE. ISRAELIS WANT THIS AGREEMENT TO HAVE A KIND OF BASIC POLITICAL IMPORTANCE. THEY WANT IT TO MARK A TURNING POINT IN ARAB-ISRAELI RELATIONS. THEY WANT IT TO MOVE OLD RELATIONSHIP BASED ON HOSTILITY, EVEN HATRED, TO A NEW ONE BASED ON PROBABILITY OF ACCOMMODATION. FROM A STATE OF WAR, IN OTHER WORDS, TO A CONDITION OF ACCEPTANCE, ONE SIDE OF THE OTHER. A MUTUALITY OF INTEREST PROPELLING BOTH SIDES TOWARD AN EASING OF CONFRONTATION. ISRAELIS ARE PRAGMATIC FOR MOST PART; THEY DO NOT BELIEVE THAT NON-BELLIGERENCY, WHICH IS WHAT THEY ARE REALLY TALKING ABOUT CAN BE ACHIEVED OVERNIGHT. THEY ARE PREPARED TO ACCEPT IT IN STAGES SO LONG AS THEY ARE CONVINCED THAT THEY ARE REALLY MOVING TOWARD PEACE. IF THEY ARE SO CONVINCED THEY WILL GIVE UP TWO STRATEGIC PASSES AND OIL FIELDS IN SINAI AS PART OF ANOTHER GENERAL ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL. IF THEY ARE NOT CONVINCED, HOWEVER, THEN THEY WOULD JUST AS SOON HOLD ON TO PASSES ON ASSUMPTION THAT WAR WOULD END INEVITABLE AND THEY HAD BETTER HOLD HIGH GROUND. BUT HOW DOES ONE DETERMINE A MOVEMENT FROM WAR TO PEACE? ANSWER IS BY TAKING A SERIES OF STEPS. ISRAEL'S DEFINITION OF NON-BELLIGERENCY IS NINE STEPS TAKEN AS A WHOLE. HERE ARE ONLY THREE EXAMPLES: FIRST, ALLOW BLACKLISTED COMPANIES TO DO BUSINESS IN BOTH ISRAEL AND EGYPT. SECOND, ALLOW CRUISE SHIPS PASSING THROUGH MEDITERRANEAN TO MAKE STOPS AT ALEXANDRIA IN EGYPT AND THEN UNCLASSIFIED

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DIRECTLY TO HAIFA IN ISRAEL. THIRD, ALLOW ARABS WORKING IN OCCUPIED TERRITORY TO CROSS OPEN BRIDGES, BACK AND FORTH, TO FACILITATE COMMERCE. SO FAR SADAT HAS NOT AGREED TO THIS NINE-POINT PACKAGE AND HE MAY NOT, BUT BIG DECISIONS FOR SADAT AND RABIN ARE RUSHING IN ON BOTH OF THEM REAL FAST. TIME IS NOW--BOTH SIDES KNOW IT, THIS NEGOTIATION CAN STILL COLLAPSE.

2. KOPPEL, ABC-TV, ASWAN: EXTERNAL ELEMENTS ARE ALWAYS - SAME, PROTOCOL WHICH REQUIRES THAT ONE FOREIGN MINISTER BE MET BY ANOTHER, THE INSATIABLE DEMANDS OF MEDIA WHICH REQUIRE ENDLESS REPETITION OF MEANINGLESS ARRIVAL STATEMENTS BECAUSE OCCASIONALLY NUANCES ARE DROPPED TO POINT CAREFUL

LISTENER IN DIRECTION OF SUBSTANCE. FORMAL POSING FOR

PICTURES WHICH WILL BE FOUND WITH LEGIONS OF IDENTICAL TWINS AND THAT MOST INEXACT SCIENCE OF ALL, DAILY TEMPERATURE TAKING OF DIPLOMATS WHICH SPECIALIZE IN MASKING REALITY. WHERE THEN DO HAK'S NEGOTIATIONS STAND? ISRAELIS ARE PREPARED TO GIVE UP MT. PASSES IN SINAI THAT PROVIDE THEM WITH A NATURAL DEFENSE AGAINST FUTURE EGYPTIAN INVASIONS IF THEY CAN BE CONVINCED THAT EGYPT WILL NOT ATTACK THEM AGAIN. EGYPT FEARS MAKING TOO FORMAL STATEMENT IN THAT DIRECTION BECAUSE IT FEELS THAT THERE WOULD THEN BE NO INCENTIVE FOR ISRAEL TO RETURN REMAINING TERRITORIES THAT IT CAPTURED IN LAST TWO WARS. HAK IS TRYING TO SHAPE A COMPROMISE THAT WILL SATISFY BOTH SIDES. BUT HE IS TRYING TO DO IT QUIETLY WITHOUT TOO MANY VISIBLE SIGNS OF PROGRESS SO THAT ARAB RADICALS WILL NOT UNDERMINE AGREEMENT BEFORE IT CAN BE COMPLETED. HAK IS REASONABLY CLOSE TO KNOWING WHETHER HE WILL SUCCEED OR FAIL.

WIRES

1. UPI, ASWAN: HAK'S SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL RAN INTO TOUGH GOING TODAY WITH SUCCESS OR FAILURE STILL IN BALANCE.

SENIOR U. S. OFFICIAL TRAVELING WITH HAK CONCEDED NEGOTIATIONS WERE SO DIFFICULT IT WAS HARD TO PREDICT HOW LONG TALKS WOULD TAKE.

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OFFICIAL SAID THERE WAS SLOW AND STEADY PROGRESS, BUT IN END GAINS MIGHT NOT BE ENOUGH TO ENSURE A NEW ISRAEL-EGYPTIAN TROOP SEPARATION AGREEMENT IN SINAI DESERT.

HAK EXPECTED TO RETURN TO ASWAN AT LEAST TWO MORE TIMES THIS WEEK IN AN EFFORT TO SPEED UP PACE OF NEGOTIATIONS.

ISRAELI AND EGYPTIAN LEADERS HAVE ALSO DESCRIBED NEGOTIATIONS AS DIFFICULT.

HAK SAID TODAY GAP HAS NARROWED BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL ON A POSSIBLE SECOND STAGE DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT BUT THERE WERE STILL "SEVERAL SUBSTANTIAL AREAS OF DISAGREEMENT.

HAK CALLED THEM "ADDITIONAL AND IN SOME CASES NEW CONSIDERATIONS".

HAK AND SADAT, MADE CLEAR THAT SUBSTANTIAL DIFFERENCES STILL REMAIN BEFORE THERE CAN BE AGREEMENT ON AN ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM SINAI PASSES AND ABU RUDEIS OIL FIELDS.

"THERE ARE SOME AREAS OF AGREEMENT AND SEVERAL SUBSTANTIAL

AREAS OF DISAGREEMENT," HAK SAID.

SADAT EMPHASIZED THAT THERE HAD NOT YET BEEN AGREEMENT ON PRINCIPLES OF A SECOND STAGE ACCORD. HE ADDED, "AS HAK HAS SAID, WE HAVE HAD FRUITFUL TALKS. I HAVE GIVEN HIM NEW CONSIDERATIONS AS AN ANSWER TO ISRAELI IDEAS HE BROUGHT HERE."

SADAT RULED OUT ANY END OF STATE OF BELLIGERENCY BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES UNTIL LATER PEACE CONFERENCE AT GENEVA AND SAID THAT SUCH QUESTIONS AS IMPROVED TRADE AND COMMUNICATIONS WOULD HAVE TO WAIT UNTIL THAT WAS ACHIEVED.

ASKED WHETHER HE BELIEVED THERE COULD BE AN ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM GIDI AND MITLA PASSES AND ABU RUDEIS OILFIELDS IN SINAI, HE SAID HE MIGHT BE ABLE TO ANSWER THURSDAY WHEN HAK RETURNS.

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"LET US HOPE," HE SAID.

HAK REPEATED THAT HE WOULD STAY IN AREA UNTIL IT WAS CLEAR EITHER THAT HE COULD BRING ABOUT A NEW AGREEMENT OR THAT HE COULD NOT.

SADAT, ASKED WHAT HE ENVISIONED AS A FINAL SOLUTION AND WHERE FRONTIERS OF ISRAEL WOULD BE, REPLIED THEY WOULD BE BORDERS BEFORE THE 1967 WAR, IN WHICH ISRAEL OCCUPIED SINAI DESERT, GOLAN HEIGHTS AND WEST BANK OF JORDAN; AND HE ADDED, "IF WE CAN SUCCEED IN GENEVA TO END STATE OF BELLIGERENCY, IT WOULD BE A VERY BIG THING FOR THIS GENERATION. CORE OF PROBLEM IS PALESTINIAN PROBLEM. IF WE CAN ACHIEVE END OF STATE OF BELLIGERENCY IN OUR GENERATION IT WILL BE BIG ACHIEVEMENT."

2. AP, SCHWEID, ASWAN: HAK SAID TODAY HE IS TAKING TO JERUSALEM SOME NEW EGYPTIAN IDEAS BUT "THERE ARE SEVERAL SUBSTANTIAL AREAS OF DISAGREEMENT" WITH ISRAELI VIEWS.

SADAT ACKNOWLEDGED NEGOTIATIONS WERE DIFFICULT AND THAT "THERE IS A POSSIBILITY WE MAY NOT REACH AN AGREEMENT."

TALKING TO NEWSMEN AFTER A 90-MINUTE SESSION, HAK SAID "THE GAP HAS BEEN NARROWED BUT IT ALWAYS REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER IT CAN FINALLY BE CLOSED."

SADAT SAID SUCH SUBJECTS AS TOURISM BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES SHOULD ONLY BE DISCUSSED IN GENEVA.

HE AGAIN CALLED ON ISRAEL TO RETREAT TO ITS 1967 BORDERS AND SAID THE "CORE OF THE PROBLEM" IN THE ME REMAINS

PALESTINIANS.

SADAT ALSO SAID "IF WE CAN END STATE OF BELLIGERENCY  
BETWEEN ARABS AND ISRAELIS IT WILL BE A GREAT ACHIEVEMENT"  
FOR THIS GENERATION.

HAK HOPES TO SPEED UP NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND  
EGYPT BY MAKING DAILY SHUTTLE FLIGHTS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES  
FOR REST OF WEEK. U. S. OFFICIALS SAY.  
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NEWSPAPERS

1. WSJ - NO STORY TODAY.

2. NY DAILY NEWS, CARTER, PAGE 16, ASWAN: HENRY RUNS  
BEHIND ON PEACE-PACT SKED. HAK GAVE SADAT TONIGHT WHAT HE  
DESCRIBED AS NEW "SPECIFIC IDEAS" FROM ISRAEL FOR A  
SECOND-STAGE SINAI DISENGAGEMENT PACT.

HAK STILL CAUTIOUSLY OPTIMISTIC ABOUT PROSPECTS FOR AGREE-  
MENT DESPITE PUBLICLY EXPRESSED PESSIMISM IN ISRAEL.  
HE SAID REPORTS FROM JERUSALEM THAT NEGOTIATIONS HAD RUN  
INTO SERIOUS TROUBLE WERE NOT TRUE.

A SENIOR OFFICIAL ON PLANE ACKNOWLEDGED FOR THE FIRST TIME  
THAT NEGOTIATIONS MIGHT TAKE CONSIDERABLY LONGER THAN  
TWO OR THREE WEEKS THAT HAK HAD PREDICTED WHEN HE SET OUT  
12 DAYS AGO.

OFFICIAL SAID NEGOTIATIONS WERE GOING "A SHADE SLOWER"  
THAN HAK HAD ANTICIPATED. TRYING TO SPEED THEM UP, HAK  
PLANNED TO MAKE THREE ROUND TRIPS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND  
EGYPT THIS WEEK AND CRAM IN SIDE VISIT TO SAUDI ARABIA.

"SPECIFIC IDEAS" FROM ISRAEL WERE DESCRIBED BY SENIOR  
AMERICAN OFFICIAL AS BEING REPLY WITH SOME SUBSTANTIVE  
CONTENT TO "CONCRETE IDEAS" THAT SADAT GAVE HAK LAST WEEK  
TO TAKE TO ISRAEL.

3. WASH POST, BERGER, PAGE 14, ASWAN: ON ARRIVAL IN  
EGYPT, HAK DENIED THAT HE HAD RUN INTO "SERIOUS TROUBLE"  
IN ISRAEL. CONTENTION ON PLANE WAS THAT SECRETARY HAD  
RECEIVED ENOUGH FROM ISRAELIS TO KEEP NEGOTIATING PROCESS  
GOING.

HAK IS STEPPING UP PACE OF NEGOTIATIONS, REPORTERS WERE  
TOLD, BECAUSE THREE OR FOUR ISSUES HAVE NOW BECOME

DEFINED ENOUGH SO EACH SIDE CAN GIVE CLEAR ANSWERS RELA-  
TIVELY QUICKLY.  
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ISRAELI CABINET HAD DECIDED YESTERDAY TO TELL HAK EGYPTIAN PROPOSALS TO DATE WERE INSUFFICIENT AND, IN SOME CASES, UNSATISFACTORY, BECAUSE THEY DID NOT EXHIBIT ENOUGH POLITICAL MOVEMENT ON SADAT'S PART TO WARRANT SUBSTANTIAL PULLBACK IN SINAI.....

...INFORMED SOURCES INDICATE CABINET DELIBERATIONS ALSO MADE IT CLEARER THAN BEFORE THAT GEOGRAPHIC CONCESSIONS WOULD BE FORTHCOMING, PROVIDED EGYPTIANS MAKE A POLITICAL DECISION TO END STATE OF WAR WITH ISRAEL.

...ISRAELI OFFICIALS FURTHER INSIST THAT THERE MUST BE A PUBLIC DOCUMENT COMMITTING EACH SIDE TO OTHER.

WHILE REPORTERS WERE TOLD HAK EXPECTS TOUGH GOING, HAK SAID TO BELIEVE THAT AN AGREEMENT IS POSSIBLE.

BOTH AMERICAN AND ISRAELI SOURCES SAY THERE HAS BEEN SLOW AND STEADY MOVEMENT, BUT NOT ENOUGH AT THIS POINT TO GUARANTEE THAT THERE WILL BE A SETTLEMENT. CLEAR SIGN THAT TWO SIDES ARE MOVING TOWARD EACH OTHER IS SEEN IN FACT THAT HAK PRESENT ASSESSMENT IS THAT IT MIGHT NOT BE NECESSARY FOR HIM TO PRESENT AMERICAN PROPOSALS TO BRIDGE GAPS AS HE HAS IN PREVIOUS NEGOTIATIONS.

HAK HOPE, REPORTERS WERE TOLD, IS BASED ON FACT THAT BOTH SIDES HAVE MADE IT ABUNDANTLY CLEAR THAT THEY WANT AN AGREEMENT AND HAVE GONE PRETTY FAR TO GET ONE.

IT IS HAK'S CONTENTION THAT BOTH KNOW IT IS IN THEIR INTEREST TO STRIKE A DEAL AND RECOGNIZE CONSEQUENCES OF FAILURE AT THIS JUNCTURE....

4. NYTIMES, GWERTZMAN, PAGE 6, AWAN REPORTS HAK TALKS ENTER NEW ROUND. HAK BROUGHT LATEST ISRAELI PROPOSALS TO SADAT TONIGHT, AS HE SOUGHT TO STEP UP PACE OF NEGOTIATIONS AND PROD BOTH EGYPT AND ISRAEL TO MAKE CONCESSIONS NECESSARY TO PRODUCE A NEW SINAI AGREEMENT.

HAK AVOIDED MAKING ANY PREDICTIONS OF SUCCESS OR FAILURE  
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IN HIS MISSION, BUT HE WAS CLEARLY CONCERNED ABOUT SLOW PROGRESS SO FAR....

HAK AND HIS TOP AIDES SAID THEY DO NOT SHARE GLOOM EXPRESSED IN ISRAELI PRESS TODAY ABOUT POSSIBILITY OF A BREAKDOWN IN TALKS. BUT THEY DO NOT HIDE THEIR FRUSTRATION WITH

RELUCTANCE OF EGYPT AND ISRAEL TO START MAKING SIGNIFICANT COMPROMISES.

CHIEF PROBLEM REMAINS...THAT ISRAELI LEADERS INSIST ON RECEIVING AN OPEN DECLARATION AND A PACKAGE OF SPECIFIC ACTIONS THAT ADD UP TO A DECISION BY EGYPT TO RENOUNCE WAR WITH ISRAEL IN RETURN FOR MEETING SADAT'S DEMAND FOR AN ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM STRATEGIC SINAI MT. PASSES AND OIL FIELDS CAPTURED FROM EGYPT IN 1967. ...

ISRAELI NEGOTIATORS HAVE TOLD HAK INFORMALLY THAT ONCE HE BRINGS THEM AN ACCEPTABLE POLITICAL PACKAGE THEY WOULD SEEK APPROVAL FOR TERRITORIAL CONCESSIONS.

EGYPTIANS APPARENTLY OFFERED TO LINK A PLEDGE NOT TO GO TO WAR WITH CONTINUED PROGRESS TOWARD PEACE. BUT ISRAELIS TOLD HAK THE NO-WAR PLEDGE HAD TO BE UNCONDITIONAL...

ALTHOUGH HAK HAS NOT DIVULGED EXACT PROPOSALS AND COUNTER-PROPOSALS HE HAS EXCHANGED BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL, HIS AIDES HAVE EXPRESSED CONCERN WITH SIZE OF GAP BETWEEN SIDES, WITH ISRAEL SEEKING FROM SADAT SOMETHING THAT MAY BE TOO DIFFICULT FOR HIM TO CONCEDE, AND SADAT DEMANDING TERRITORY THAT ISRAEL FEELS IT CANNOT YIELD WITHOUT DRAMATIC POLITICAL CONCESSIONS.....

5. BALT SUN, MILLS P. 5 FROM ASWAN HEADLINED HAK, SADAT DISCUSS SPECIFICS. HAK ARRIVED ASWAN CONVINCED THAT NEW ISRAELI-EGYPTIAN PEACE AGREEMENT COULD BE WORKED OUT BUT NOT CERTAIN THAT IT WILL BE. ...

REPORTERS ABOARD THE PLANE WERE TOLD HAK NOW HOPES TO HOLD SHORTER SESSIONS WITH BOTH SIDES IN AN ATTEMPT TO SPEED UP TALKS. AMERICAN OFFICIALS SAID LESS TIME IS NEEDED NOW  
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BECAUSE THE BASIC ISSUES IN THE NEGOTIATIONS LARGELY HAVE BEEN DEFINED.

THAT MEANS, OFFICIALS SAID, THAT HAK NEED NOT SPEND TIME AT EACH STOP GOING OVER "GENERAL PRINCIPLES" -- HAK TERMINOLOGY FOR THE SCOPE AND AGENDA OF NEGOTIATIONS.

RATHER, THEY SAID, HE IS AT THE POINT WHERE HE CAN TAKE A SPECIFIC IDEA FROM ONE SIDE ON A GIVEN ISSUE AND GET A RESPONSE FAIRLY QUICKLY FROM THE OTHER SIDE.

HAK WAS SAID TO BELIEVE HE "CAN SEE HOW IT CAN BE WORKED OUT BUT NOT POSITIVE THAT IT WILL BE."

AMERICAN OFFICIALS ALSO SAID THAT IT NOW APPEARS THAT HAK MIGHT NOT HAVE TO INTRODUCE AN "AMERICAN PROPOSAL" INTO

THE TALKS. ...

HAK WAS SAID TO BE BRINGING "SPECIFIC IDEAS" FROM ISRAEL.  
OFFICIALS DENIED SUGGESTIONS THAT HE HAD GOTTEN FEWER  
CONNECTIONS FROM THE ISRAELI CABINET THAN HE HAD WANTED.  
OFFICIALS SAID HAK HAD GOTTEN "EXACTLY", WHAT HE EXPECTED.

OFFICIALS HAVE PROVIDED NO DETAILS ON THE SUBSTANCE OF  
THE NEGOTIATIONS, SO IT IS DIFFICULT TO GAUGE THEIR  
PROGRESS INDEPENDENTLY. ...

BUT IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT THE TWO SIDES ARE FAR FROM ATTACK-  
ING THE CRUX OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. ...

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